1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning *plains*. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapotisi (Kapite plains), En-aipesha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Alkippiak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

101 [34] 101 634

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301
51L
361

Inside a Masai kraal.

Masai women entering kraal.

[Facing P. 170]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

36
351

Inside a Masai kraal.

343

Place in the cattle where the manure dung after eating meat.

[Facing P 342]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KIKONGO.	1. Kisongo	3. Siguroi	5. Siusi or Saleh
	a. Kitato	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Molio	4. Sirio	
LUMBWA.	1. Ngurumas	2. Serenget	3. Ilgarika

The village, *eng eng*, pl. *ing engitio*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[1] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gate-system. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The houses are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if married more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[2] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[3] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the *reverse* migration the owner comes back to his old village *if this is not irreparably destroyed, and if it agrees* by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[1] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 816.
[2] *See especially* HOBLEY, l. c., pp. 37 s.
[3] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 66.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[44] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties.

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en giskoni*, pl. *in giskoni*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[45] and the author of *MS.* No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[46] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Ataposh* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[47] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *manyatta enguny* (elders' village) or a *manyatta manyat* (warriors' village)".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[48] writes: "The

[44] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 488.
[45] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 188.
[46] FOX, l. c., p. 488.
[47] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 188.
[48] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 48.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

rises to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the manyat were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[100]

But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[101]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[102] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their grown-elders.[103]

[100] The statement is confirmed by Hinde's description l. c., p. 91. He says that the manyat were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[101] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their grown-elders.

[102] MERKER, l. c., p. 30: "Das Vorkommt der an Krieges beweggründe meine Stärke besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und dieses ist der Hauptsache nur Eigentum der Vaters".

[103] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against smoking and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KAVIRONDO.

(222) Origin of the Kisumu Council and agricultural settlers. Settlement of N. Kisumu. Mr. Charles Eliot's theory. European inhabitants. Widespread belief in history of the Kisumu. Kisumu as a centre. Kisumu under Arabs's rule. Origin of Chief Ojwang. Chief Ojwang's occupation. Chiefdom of the centre of the Kisumu. Chief Ojwang's son. Kisumu. Mr. Hobley's journey through Kisumu. Upper Kisumu's occupation. Mr. Hobley's journey. Mr. Hobley's Kisumu and modern economy. Kisumu of Kisumu country. Kisumu and Upper Kisumu. Kisumu and Kisumu. Kisumu. Kisumu.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE KAMA NATION.

[illegible] Traditions of the Kama or Ubh. Kamala migration southwards to Bunyoro. Its land in the Nile Valley. The Chwezi dynasty. Introduction of Bunyoro rule. Kama Nation to the present. Dealing with the Kama. Character of Kama rule. Mr. Bullock's report on Lubigas. Mr. Bullock's commission. Delegation of the Native Affairs. Mr. Bullock's investigations regarding Lubigas. Mr. Bullock's views regarding work of other officers of Kama's appointed. The Kama Army. Main functions of the Kama Army. Kama's appointed. The Kama Army. Main functions of the Kama Army. Constitution of the Southern Kama Native Police. Formation of the Kama Native Police. Kama's Chief Station. The Native customs of the Southern Kama. Proposals to consult the Southern Kama. The Kabarega Kama. Police on the Lake Shore. The suggested removal from Lubigas. Meeting at Lake Victoria's camp. Reports on the Lubigas Kama. Kama Chiefs of Lubigas. Kama Customs. Kama dealing at Kamala. Kama Chief Kagoma of the Lake Shore. Kama Customs. Kama dealing at Kamala. Kama Chief Kagoma of the Lake Shore. Kama Customs. Kama dealing at Kamala. Kama Chief Kagoma of the Lake Shore. Kama Customs. Kama dealing at Kamala. The preliminary work. The main meeting. The Meeting of 3rd May, 1910. The Chief's speech

"In the discussion on this question two things seem to me to have been confused :—

"1. The right of the Masai to inhabit particular districts.

"2. Their right to monopolise particular districts and keep everybody else out.

"The first right is undoubted, but the second appears to me most questionable. As a matter of expediency it may sometimes be best to make reserves but, as a matter of principle, I venture submit that wandering tribes have a right to keep other and superior races out of large tracts merely because they have acquired a habit of struggling over the more level than they can utilise.

"The customs of the Masai may be interesting to anthropologists, but morally and economically they seem to me to be all bad, and it is our duty, as it will also be to our advantage, to change them as soon as it is practicable. Tribes closely akin to the Masai on Kilimanjaro and elsewhere are said to cultivate and there is the neighbourhood of Naivasha seem to be settling down. It is much to be desired that the Naivasha Masai should follow this same example, instead of straying about with large herds of inferior cattle and sheep, which are reported to be all little use to the owners and of none at all to anyone else. It is also desirable to break up the tribes as far as possible, and discourage assemblies of warriors, circumcision, ceremonies, etc., which all conduce to unity.

"With this object it is clearly best, if practicable, to induce them to settle in small villages among Europeans, for whom they might be employed as cattle guards, etc., and I should wish officers to look upon this as the chief solution of the question. But I quite recognise that the stupidity of the Masai or the hostility of Europeans may render it impossible and therefore we must have a reserve ready if needed. Such a reserve should not be too far off, which would result in the Masai not being under control and I would suggest the Kedong Valley and the country to the south of it as a suitable place. If higher ground is really necessary for their cattle they might have some in the neighbourhood of Kinangop or of the Southern Mau. I never contemplated, as some people seem to have thought, that the Masai should have all the land to the south and west of the line in the Rift Valley. That seems to me too much.

"It follows from the above that the question should not be hurried and that we should try to accustom the Masai to Europeans and their ways. Applications for land cannot be delayed indefinitely and if they are not very large should be granted unless the area wanted is either actually occupied by Masai or used by them as regular reserves.

"I should like to have an estimate of :—

"1. The number of Masai.

"2. The average number who live in one village.

"3. The number of sheep and cattle which they possess.

"The Masai should beware of exaggerating their numbers, as they might be called upon to pay more hut tax."

In October 1913, Sir Charles Eliot reported a feeling of serious unrest which had been recently noticed among the Masai, culminating in preparations for a great raid on the south-western part of the Protectorate near the Anglo-German border and he ascribed the cause of this feeling to the Ki-Ganda ceremony which had just taking place, after which honour required each young warrior to thrust his spear. The Masai were informed that they would be very severely punished if they ever took place and Colonel Harrison remained for ten days at Naivasha with 100 troops. In reporting this unrest, Sir Charles alluded to the policy which he considered should be followed in dealing with this tribe. He was strongly opposed to the creation of a native reserve for them if such a step could possibly be avoided as such isolation would only tend to confirm the Masai in their peculiar ideas and customs and he thought that the only sound policy was to break up their present organisation.

Unrest among the Masai.

Policy to be followed in dealing with the Masai.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

133 Let us take the country first.

The Masai country is very markedly divided into two quite distinct regions, the southerly or lower desert area and the northerly or plateau region. The southerly is comparatively low in altitude, that is to say, from 3000 to nearly 4000 feet. It is sterile and unproductive in the extreme. This is owing, not to a barren soil, but to the scantiness of [132] the rainfall, which for about three months in the year barely gives sufficient sustenance to scattered tufts of grass. The acacia and mimosa have almost sole possession of these dreary plains, except near the base of some isolated mountain, or other highland where small rivulets trickle down, to be speedily absorbed in the arid sands. No river traverses this region, and many parts are covered with incrustations of natron, left by the evaporation of salt-charged springs. We have seen something of this lower region in the flat reach of Njiri, and the forbidding desert of Dugilani.

It is not, however, to be conceived as a monotonous level. Far from it. The colossal Kilimanjaro, and the conical Mount Meru belong to it. The hills of Gelai and the Ossen N'Ebor circle round in the form of an amphitheatre, to meet the metamorphic masses of Ndapduk and Donyo Erok. Further to the west and north are the volcanic masses of Donyo Engai, Donyo la Nyuki, and Donyo Logwoot, with the hills of Ngurumo-ni.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the higher mountains, such as Mount Meru and Donyo Engai, the country is to a large extent uninhabited. To summarize this tract we may say that it is triangular in general shape, the apex towards the north, reaching to within thirty miles of the equator, and extending beyond to Baringo as a species of trough or deep, irregular cutting. The Masai are only to be found at all seasons about such favourable situations as the base of [361] Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, Ndapduk, Gelai, Kisongo, to the west of Meru, Donyo Engai, and along the edge of the plain at the bases of the bordering highlands Mau and Kapte.

The country is sufficiently characterized when the fact is stated that it is a region of later volcanic activity, which in a very recent geological period has produced the cones and craters already referred to. These results of volcanic energy may, to some extent, be accounted for—though the statement may seem to savour of reasoning in a circle—by the lower region as an area of depression having subsided or sunk from the higher level of the flanking table-lands.

6:Thomson 5-3 (1883-1884)1887
F L12 Masai F L12

The northerly or higher plateau region of Masai Land may be described as rising from an elevation of nearly 6000 feet on either side, and culminating in the centre at an elevation of little short of 9000 feet—although through this very line of highest elevation runs from the Doglani plain the remarkable meridional trough which encloses the charming chain of isolated lakes, Naivasha, Elmenteita, Nakuru, and Baringo; and which, at the last-named place, begins to widen out till it assumes the characteristics of the southerly plain of Masai Land.

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia—and the picturesque range of the Aberdare Mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6000 feet, it is not mountainous, but undulates out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterised by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country enlivened by groups of game; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the Tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, evergreens, clover, sorrows, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams—those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while further south in Kaputi the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through Ukambani to the Sabaki River.

Kikuyu occupies the higher areas of the eastern half of the plateau, cutting across it immediately south of the equator. Some of the higher parts are covered with a dense forest of bamboo; notably to the east of Naivasha, and between it and the Aberdare Mountains. Hence the Swahili name of one encamping-place—Mianzi-ni (Bamboo Country).

The greater part of Lykipia—and that the richer portion—is quite uninhabited, owing, in a great degree, to the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

[34] destruction of the Masai of that part, through their intestine wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-nika.

[31] The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the area lying between 1° N. lat., and 3° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wa-kwafi, who are more off-shoots of the Masai.

[32] The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was incessant. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical abominable and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—braces one up for the fatigues of the parish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the shade of coolness, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

6:Thomson R-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the exigencies of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Ouas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the native land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a fan-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expressions of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For my own picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

455 was not even put through the lowers of the teb. Sometimes, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued with the belief that some day he would make a name for himself as a murderer of shrubs and a killer of cattle, would make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy who has just had a suit of new clothes.

455 *And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of*
581 *a boy proper.* He was provided with a real bow and arrow. A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
304 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate, not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his shoulder, and he could neatly put his fist through the distended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

457 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of the geography of the country around, as his parents had not been stationary, having been compelled to move about from place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
[97] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
[98] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut also. He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from the plains to the highlands in the dry season and also away in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geography his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion.
458 He learned something of the mystery of the universe by hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour together to some unseen Being called Ngái (God, or the heavens). He learnt also that the place of Ngái was among the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
[99] Donyo Ngái (an active volcanic mountain) were His voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Mowa at this period reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his bow, trying to ponder the great problem as to the whence, whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

6:Thomson K.3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

VISCOUR RATHBONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

The people (Wa-kwafi) of Njonjo presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 101 194

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Loikipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, graceful shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldly contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterised by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 143 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njonjo of Ozoro Tighish, close to our camp, and Njonjo of Ozoro na Nyuki. The houses were of the beyrouk order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 361 M 342 351

In a busy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

M 184

7: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

on the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) "without the assertion of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Kenya Colony, but they have maintained many of their original customs and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the nature and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions been auxiliary to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Morans) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (ariki) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the longer established had their own "Councillors" (L'Aigonak) chosen from among the Morans.

The Morans had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligations save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They consisted on the fighting strength of the tribe or portions which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, "drank milk" and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."* Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Kindas) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Morans, or Morans become Elders or the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Morans were concerned, and the situation

* Introduction to The Masai by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

is called en of ewuk. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the el ewuk will be granted. No Maasai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg as an act of the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and fine more head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called enyiboto; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing fine more head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a flute here from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to Engai Narok —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called el-piron, also a metal circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as il-piron, whilst the elders refer to the boys as il-piron.

another rule! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency, or perhaps the object of the use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is ceremonially emptied or is thrown away, but if at a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if the fats is removed from him.

After some years the boys are circumcised, and become novice warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the inspector plan to form into separate companies or regiments for warriors in various villages called *manyatta*. Manyatta are sent and the warriors of all these are called together by means of an *olamal* just as the boys did before the *endongore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *l'arit*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the inspect warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the left of his spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*Ee ale Il Molelo*" or "*Ee ale Il Tolosat*"—." This way the Molelo, this way the Tolosat." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more units. During joined a unit a warrior may reinsert at any time before that unit forms the first warrior village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves one are to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The girls once formed, the warriors now approach the Laiyon elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyatta of new age-group may not be erected.

The ordinary ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine men decides that a left-hand circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the ill given planned to make their special ones, will be too to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-hand circumcision moran.

9.Foxbrooke G-5 (1934-1948) 1968 FL11 Mawai FL11
Kiwoko

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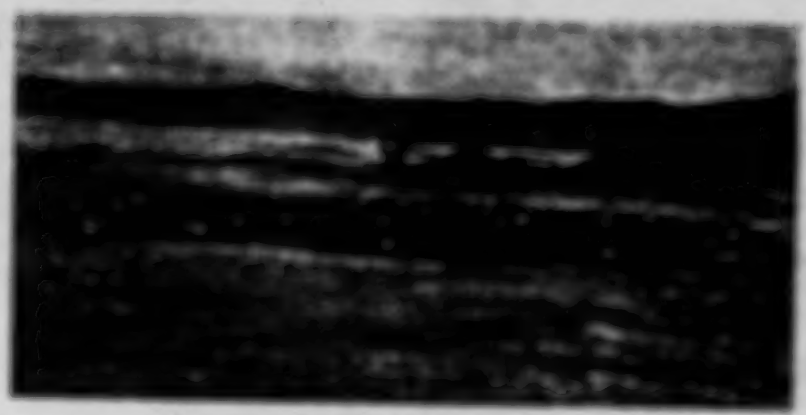
A PROMINENT LADIWARAN AND TWO OF HIS WIVES.
Offenbau ole Mankya of Ngamagura area.

• 361



LADIWARAN GATHERING 'BOMA'
showing grouping of huts and cattle for 'gates'.

[Facing p. 82]

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

when blood money is paid, it is less what the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

2. Family matters — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage stabilities — number of cattle in each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.

Strictly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which the forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes to the bride her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *enyoito* o' *lee*. These living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *nabolorito*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and if the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the *manyatta*, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As boy approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons of three wives claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in *manyattas* in the bush (*el pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has varied wealth.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

[551 561]

foreskin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skin attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *kokuteu* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osinguiko*, which are danced by the novices alone. [535]

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the *kokuteu* have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior. [551 561 564]

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organize the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (see below). [551 561]

Part III.—Warriorhood.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *ol-aruai*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ear-piercing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *junjuinoibor* and *warningalenga*. [57]

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *junjuinoibor* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *junjuinoibor* and a *warningalenga*, must move out together, leaving the next *junjuinoibor* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *warningalenga*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *junjuinoibor*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as morangalanga ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any junior-senior group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single manyatta, as each manyatta is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A manyatta consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relation) of one of the warriors of that manyatta. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the manyatta and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the manyatta, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the manyatta as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a manyatta at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that manyatta, and each warrior living at a manyatta is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the manyatta, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the manyatta.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any unmarried girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the manyatta a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the customs of the Kikuyu people, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tuindire*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (a) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (b) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

56] the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two
34] warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made, the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall allow them to be appointed.

56] 60] [308] *Sharing Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are called respectively *olaiyoni* and *oldoreyanga*, and there are certain very strict regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately, no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After

56] the sharing ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ogwenik*, and from there

•[261] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old occupation, which they resented when they came to the *Eunoto* ceremony, but must build new occupation.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *jarpimodoi* or *merisiga-dongo* (see the *Age-group system*). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *jarpimodoi* and a *merisigadongo*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunoto* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (see the *Age-group system*), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean having a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the

[99] senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the men just leave their occupation and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (see Marriage).

Breach of Sec. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to beat/ring and ostracise all his cattle.

Breach of Sec. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of Sec. 5 as far as the women is concerned, and likewise the man must take him to the aggrieved husband to avoid a row.

Breach of Sec. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is taken away and otherwise seized and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred at a marriage settlement are :—

5 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey here in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is assisted with the fat.

When a girl who has received/ initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

Part VI.—Parent-Love.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and live at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndoro* by the young man.

As stated above, Ol Piron means a Scottish. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of grandiose to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance.

Manyattas.—The *enk* is the unit for a single manyatta, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one manyatta for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *Il-Uasin.*

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the manyatta system, and manyattas were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the manyattas are now commonly allowed to have manyattas provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to manyattas, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that manyattas last for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision.

Sometimes the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the manyattas, and as there are only a few of these to be seen there.

A manyatta usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *matakita* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tumaki iyuk*. *Tumaki* is a second person singular imperative of a defective word (see Stoffel, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyuk* means "me" or "us"

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so circumcised he usually builds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefingers and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to touch the circle so formed with her forefingers. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding.

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uncircumcised girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently combined erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "Shed his spear."

The Il-Uasin Ceremony.—Sometimes this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Maasai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above.

488 D. Senana Fox.—*Further Notes on the Wanni of Kenya Colony.*

The Lolo and Sirio B-Ceata ceremony took place in July, 1930, and lasted three days. They invited me to it, but, owing to pressure of political work, I was unable to attend till the morning of the third day at about 10 a.m. (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1-3, and Pl. XXV, Figs. 1 and 2).

The Wanni definition of the *B-Ceata* is as follows:—

"The *B-Ceata* is a religious ceremony of blessing of the age-group, after which the warriors have leave to marry.

"The *O-Singira* gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women."

The warriors were dancing at the time (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1 and 2). After about an hour they went off to a spot about a mile away in the forest, where I was informed that they sacrificed a bullock as a thanks.* They returned about 3.30 p.m., about twenty of them being dressed in a manner similar to that of the three functionaries (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3). They danced round the *O-Singira* hut, and those warriors who were entitled to enter it led their families up to enter some one doing so. The warriors then squatted down in a close group in the centre of the compound, while some elders walked round them drinking honey-wine and spraying it out of their mouths over the group as a blessing. Others of the elders sat by the *O-Singira* hut and refreshed themselves with honey-wine. It was at this point of the proceedings that the age-group of warriors was named *Irimirian* (from *rorik-arim*, plural). This terminated the festival.

The chief functionary is the *O-Ibone*, but I cannot say what part he takes, having arrived on case the end of the ceremony. He is held in great reverence for some afterwards, and it is unlucky for the age-group if a mishap befalls him. He must not take part in political affairs. He is always spoken of as *O-Ibone*, and his son, when he grows up, is known as the son of *O-Ibone*. (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3.)

There is a senior official called *O-Ibiri engiton*. *Engiton* is a thong of leather. If my spelling of the first part of the title is correct it would perhaps mean "He who splits the thong." But there are several words from which it might derive, and I have no knowledge of his duties to assist me in checking my spelling of the name.

O-Singira (Thingira).—Owing ignorance of Kikuyu I had been puzzled by this word prior to reading Mr. Leakey's article. At the Lolo *B-Ceata* it was built just within the outside edge of the village. The village consisted of a circle of huts about 300 yards in diameter. I looked in to the *O-Singira*, but it was too dark to see anything. It was made of sun-dried plaster like an ordinary hut, but was much bigger. Ranged against the wall outside were the heads of numerous cows which the warriors had slaughtered.

I was informed that NO of the warriors had not had sexual relations with initiated women and could therefore enter the *O-Singira*. After the *B-Ceata* the

* Masai, *Ololulingeki*, the general word for a thanks.

438 D. Hobley, Esq.—*Further Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

[414] The name of the main group 'Lorobi mongi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loroba' Kisha' because the former means "the blood and buffaloes and the latter the blood and cattle."

It is feeling difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol piron* (the clan) and *Enkitoktoi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 300, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oiborg or D'Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[415] Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Kisa *el Orowuan Ondi* (the black cobra ?), 'Laghumon *el Amoni Bongai Ondi* (the thin black snake), D Dorsanto *el Amoni Sero* (the brown snake), D Mokidon *all* snakes.

[416] *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas Narosi Engare and D Dalili, west of the Rift valley. An adopted person is called *O-Ilonge*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoptive and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he starts to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[417] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

[418] *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

D. Bwaam Fan.—*Further Notes on the Manner of Kwapo Tribing.* 439

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking towards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

Where a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

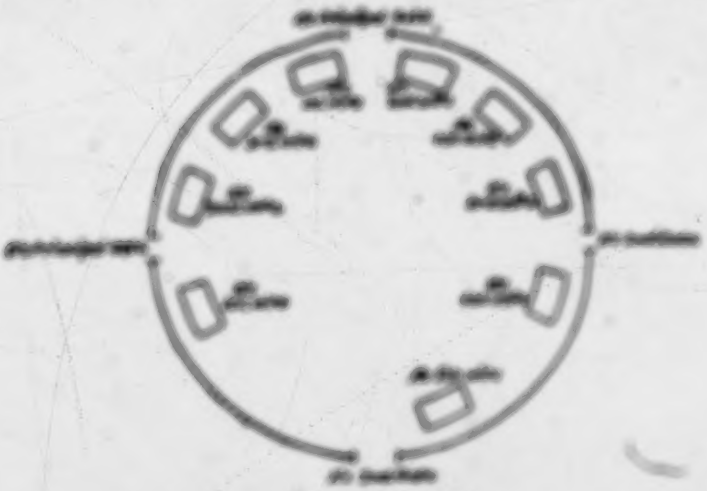


Fig. 1.

contribute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (Ba Cukimbi).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she shirks some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family such wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass on inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

D. Section Five.—*Further Notes on the Music of Kenya Colony.* 405

(1) *Oldoherobor* — The Thunderer and 2nd month time.
(2) *Sirapiroj* — Light showers and 2nd month time.
(3) *Pumori.* Blooming unbowers and 2nd time.
(4) *Ol Alkor Aiti* — The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. (1) *Kimbir* — Full moon.
2. (2) *Ongori* — When it rises green.
3. (3) *Ongoki* — When it rises red.
4. *Endirik Pairungo* — The beginning of the moon.
5. *Endirik E Gyarrow* — They were the nines (?)
6. *Endirik e Pairishoo* — The red moon (?)

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, "the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Enaiteta* = the darkness.

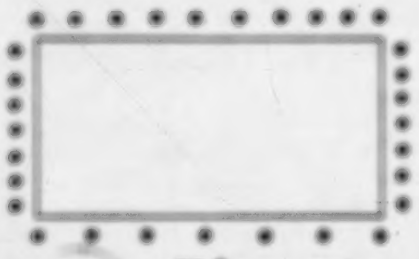


FIG. 5.

Hut-building.—The Masai frequently move from one place to another in order to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's march is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night.

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 5 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emudai*) round it at 9 inches or 12 inches interval (Text-fig. 5). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 12 inches or so with a pointed stake called *Enamoto*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stake and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a plant wand which runs all round horizontally, leaving every fourth or fifth upright unbound.

12: Fun G-S (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Maasai FL12
Kenya

are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes 342
two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof
are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a
backing of *Lobelium* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including
the cattle pen, is enclosed and sealed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lampi*) is
usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the
smoke. The huts (*En-Dabash* or *E-Bust*) are made of hides put on top of poles 352
placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows
the ground plan of a finished hut.

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. 342
Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with 356?
wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls [451]
and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are 515
not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in head
necklaces and other ornaments.

When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it 361
may be occupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair.

[P. 466 is blank]

Il-Wasin-kishu Masai (Uasin Gishu) lived till they were broken up about 1850. The Nandi tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Karamojong, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (AbaLuhya) and Nilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west.

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), in and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Samburu in the north to about 6° south in Tanganyika Territory. In the north are the Samburu (Samburu) and, formerly, the Il-Aikipiak (Laikipia) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Uasin Gishu country enclosed by the Nandi west of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Aikipiak are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kisonyo extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loitai and Siria west of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kapolei. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kiseniko and Il-Arusa, lies between Lolgorian on the west and Kilimanjaro on the east, narrowing as it goes southwards. There are settlements (*o-kuroue* – farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Natron southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-west by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-east by the scattered Randile and Borana; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Caga, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Kaguru and Nguru; and on the west by the Iraqw, Burungi, Sbashi, Kerya, Gonl, Kipsikis, and Nandi, and by a short stretch of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Elgon: the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wasin-kishu who now no longer live here.

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hordes (the *Dorobo division* of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forests (East Mau, West Mau, Ravine, Lolldiani, Timdiret, and Kipkomwek hordes); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dundule, Saleta, Kidoq, and Digiri hordes); (iii) Eastern (hordes on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kisima); and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Mosiro of the Talamai hills east of Kibeya in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hordes are thus in contact with Nandi, Tukeu, Keyo, Kipsikis, Masai, and Kikuyu: in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kidoq) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu.

The *Tatoga division* of the Nandi group is separated from the nearest Nandi-speakers (the Kipsikis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Barabaig (Burabaik), the only tribe of this division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country in the triangle formed by Mount Hanang and Lakes Basutu and Balangida south of Lake Eyasi. They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kaguru, Gogo, Nyamwezi, and Sukuma); in this enclave live also the Bantu tribes Isanzu, Nyiramba, and Nyaturu; the Bush people Hadzapi; the Sandawe; and the unclassified though supposedly Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw.

The Hadzapi, Sandawe, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "unclassified" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples.

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Tatoga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-loving hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Hadzapi are "Bush-men," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sandawe are hunters who have

13.Huntingford E.-4 (no date) 1953 FL.12 Masai FL.12

Kisisi, some 50 miles south of Kilimye in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Samburu, who in 1888 extended more than 120 miles northwards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great variations of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation areas: the first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 3,000 to 9,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mounts Kenya and Elgon to some 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is waterless, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in bush country useless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite low down halfway across the Land Unit to run across the E.-wards gap. There are no lakes except the soda lakes Magadi, Parsua, and Elmenteita, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1913–17 and 1920–4 at Narok being 19 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai steppe between Kilimye and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1915, 0.80 in.; 1916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 8.44 ins.; February: 1913, 1.66 ins.; 1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.23 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.26 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to March, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 60° and 65° F.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1949; Jones, 1938.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Settlement Pattern

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

13-Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Maasai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only an alternate day, but at the same time grass over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girls known as another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Thomson and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 30 to 80. The warriors' kraal may contain between 80 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enkang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to signify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *el-mamet*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-kishomin*, the elder of which is left most to matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *ark*, and the huts are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their brothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her unmarried son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the mother wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 20 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled, but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 60 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

In 1902 the Di Cham numbered about 3,000 (3,400 according to the 1905 Census), and though they are of Shilluk stock, being descended from a Shilluk section called Di Dingo, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Dinkas, and become rather mixed. According to one Shilluk they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Ambadi, but two were destroyed on account of Nuer raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kidrok Island in Lake Ambadi. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though one Shilluk here spoke in 1907. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat conical thatched roofs, and walls of grass and sticks. They are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyanga Kidrok" and "Nyanga Nyago" to the Turkish valley a few miles south of Lake Ambadi; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Di Cham keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Shilluk; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "tonk-bow" system of the pastoralists, though without the accessories. Today they have some 100,000 acres of pure land, about 4 in cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 15,000 or more head of cattle, and 20,000 goats and sheep, thus enhancing in part the ambition of all Di Cham to become cattle people again. In the time of Dhamara and Tuich, however, Nyanga was an important station on the caravan route, and was thereby noted that they had a large amount of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (by ways of three to four miles square) which were separated by irrigation channels bringing water from down across the river Tigniah. This system was still working in Dunlop's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the "sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch." Besides agriculture, the Di Cham fish and hunted, using the bow, and spears of fish and Cobus kobs.

It is possible that the fishing group called Di Bale who live on the east shore of Lake Kidrok is to be classed as Di Dingo." They submit on a diet of fish alone which, when Dunlop and von Bülow were there in 1906, had produced no ill-effects, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Cobus blood in them.

The Di Anem round Nyanga Nyago are a large tribe of agricultural Nuer, originally of Bunu stock, but now occupied by the pastoral Nuer as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Nyangoya in Southern Shambaai are also to be classed as agricultural Nuer."

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-nyiel*. At circumcision[1] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-mareal*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *el-gudan* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-mareal*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gudan* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] S. R. Dunbar, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49-68.
[2] W. A. Dyson and T. C. Fyfe, "The Shilluk," *JRAI*, 1907, LXVII, p. 107; von Bülow, XL, pp. 139-40.
[3] The people known as Kidrok or northern Tungurlim are not Nuer, but people of Shilluk stock who have imitated them.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Dunbar gives the limits as 10-17 years; Fuchs-Hofer gives the lower limit as 18 or 19.

631 chief, but in that year it was recognised that he was in fact an exile thing, and the 648 entire administrative was reconstructed, with 10 District Councils, one for each division (3 Public, 3 Chiefs, etc.), to replace the original council of the chiefs. These Councils were composed of 3 appointed chiefs, and minor members and the presidents of each formed a Central Rural Council which met twice a year. Under the Councils were 46 headmen, some of these 3 appointed. The Reserve was divided into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the populations of the locations. In 1955 these Councils were replaced by a District Tribunal and an Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Kumi and Kaberamaido, into which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades, headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Teso generally, the system was at first regarded as the best of the Elsonian but since this arrangement proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Rural Council was formed as District Authority, consisting of headmen and chiefs, but possessing only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with representatives of agnates and clans as in representatives of each local council sit on the Rural Council. There are 46 gazetted headmen.

Interests: Kumi, 1904; Tororo, 1909; Bulle, 1907; Mukwa, 1910; Whitehouse, 1911; Pentonville, 1946, and personal communication; Bailey, 1949.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Dwelling

372 The Ateso hut, *ekit-ekit*, pl. *ede-edith*, is a low structure with a flat or conical 361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together. The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top, is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather holes are left on top to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together to house (see above, p. 497). The beds of the agriculturist in Ateso have flat-bed mats of the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin bed called *ekatar* is used for a temporary bed where journey is part.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small cut, or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-dress of ostrich feathers or of bee-skin, a cape of cobcoat feathers, a cap made of a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the bark anti-champ called *e-mat*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells. A type of garment called *ecatore* is worn by warriors on certain occasions. Bells are worn when going on a raid after starting on *ol-aserai* (*ol-ekwan*). Also Turkana ele Wiwi, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt. They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled iron wire, *i-ameden*, hung by strings from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi ear), and some wear wide coiled bands of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck, and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and necklaces.

14-Hamilton 2-6 (1959) 1963
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IBOB.TEB NOTES

SG1 The 'E-Unen' Ceremony of the Moon. By Lord Chief Hamilton. With three text figures.

135

The cycle of ceremonies connected with the Coming of a Moon age are many with their leaders, a succession of which, established by the members of the age are immediately senior to the coming warriors are. These members are destined to become the instructors to initial boys of the youths who are about to complete the next age set. The graduation is followed by a dangerous ordeal, marks the end of the various circumcisions. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates to the [illegible] ordeal, and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three or four years, the youths being [illegible] years of age. Each generation is divided into Right-Hand and Left Hand circumcisers, the latter begin their ceremony about six or seven years after the former, but both ends to be carried out at the same time.

Some years after the beginning of their circumcisers, the members of the Right-Hand Circumcisers become senior warriors through the e-unen. The ceremony, which a part of the age-set celebrates, is held about seven years, when an age set of junior moon (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior moon, and to 'grab' the next junior members of the previous age set up into which numbered. The word e-unen is derived from the verb e-un, to place upright or set up (i.e. a new age set of junior warriors is 'set up'); and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the [illegible] (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the moon who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of timber, wood and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled over the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select an ox-man from those about to take part in the ceremony. These ox 'pure men' or they are called men by young men of good character, who are unmarried, full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the Ol-Unen, a chosen warrior and a near relation of the [illegible] ceremony is due to start. Every woman [illegible] being called upon to fill the position for the Ol-Unen is regarded as a compliment for the husbands of his followers. They believe that if he dies young or a member for their ox, they will live long and prosper.

After the other huts have been built, the members of the ox pure men' build the sacred hut called Ol-Ungoni. This is a round building, also made of branches, wood and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around to base is laid a circle of [illegible] skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the Ol-Ungoni, the Ol-Unen 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (Olea Aethiopica) and an earthen bowl water which means 'The ceremony is up.' The doorway of the Ol-Ungoni faces that of the Ol-Unen's hut, over [illegible] which a door of the entrance known as 'The Centre-up of the Hide.'

The events of the Lotte division of the Masai was held on [illegible] June, 1935, at Ewuaskuru in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcisers, the members of which are known as Il-Lenyepyani.

SG1 The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called
135 "The Day of the Red Dance." As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

/1 name/

against the former. The El kunyi recognized the chief (ol oiboni) of the Maasai as also their own and seem for a long time to have been on the best of terms with them. Then -- as the tradition tells -- a girl named Nkimaigoi, from the family of the ol oiboni Olonana -- she is usually designated as his sister, some rarely as his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kunyi warriors sent to Olonana and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kunyi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Olonana. With this the wars began between Maasai and El kunyi. They lasted -- as is known -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kiwanga, a six-hour march west of Nanyuki /Sth. Maasi/, where later on the chiefs of the Maasai took up their permanent /?/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of Mount Kenya, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Maasai, until the chief Mbaryan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngarendare, north of Lake Nakuru: the few of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wanderobo from nearby Soyo. The remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Tarangire, Kidoi, Arusha-Chini. The first battles between Maasai and El kunyi probably took place in the vicinity of Kaputiei /Sth. Kaapu/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Ngong; the ones conquered fled to Ngojine and then further to Uasin Gishu and Mau, where they founded a settlement under the chief Terik.

The Maasai took a few individuals from among the defeated into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller -- part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live wholly as before and are distinguished from the Maasai only by

/1 cont./
the name El mali. Those who become subjects, however, are designated by the Ndebel as El Landwe and also as El South -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El South. The Lozwani people, accordingly, call them Wisbuth, while they make no distinction between El mali and Ndebel and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

In contrast to the El mali, who have remained pure, the El Landwe of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Ndebel people: in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

A low group finally, because known, the El mali. This is the second branch of the Wandwidler: the third and most recent, the El gwenik, arose from the Ndebel themselves, in that those impoverished by Lobengula's epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

Even up to 17 years ago the Ndebel were the lords of the vast steppe in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisdigo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this line the province of Lolta, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Nalevasha, the province of El Mongan. In earlier times a part of Lolta called El mongan seems /1/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol mohe 'he : a province) is divided into districts (ol gol : the land) and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, bends, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisdigo-Ndebel, Lolta-Ndebel, Sandgati- or even Kisdo-, Mollo-, Segenai-Ndebel, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol mbuh has been misinterpreted.

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Ewafi--Analyst]

[illegible]

/12 cont./

In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches, the following is to be considered. The Masai that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never submitted to the kidnapping of women and children to war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negroes and did not take Negroes into their community.

From a 35 photo.

Ill. 1. Three Masai women.

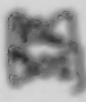
Therefore they most closely show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they combined not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [illegible]. [i.e. the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

/12 mm./

Weddell settlements. In general, naturally, the mixture is greatest where the Weddell have already been extensively trapped, least and often scarcely /10/ noticeable or even not at all where they did not become sedentary until the last half of the nineteenth century. The cattle epidemics, which constantly brought new blood elements to the Weddell, had a convincing effect on the mixture. In many cases one can quite accurately determine whether and what kind of foreign blood a single individual has by careful questioning about the family tree. Among the Weddellite who live far from the Negroes, to the north of the east inhospitable bank of the steppes, for the most part probably no mixture with Negro blood has taken place, at all, against which, to be sure, each with the family, belonging to the tribally related Dengu, must be censured with certainty on grounds of a kinship and linguistic nature, as well as according to the tradition. Degeneration through inbreeding also seems excluded from the outset, for they customarily had an influx of blood owners and children, whose husbands and fathers had perished in the famine following a cattle epidemic.

If one examines the somatic characteristics of the three blood branches from these points of view and with the elimination of all cases in which a mixture has been proved or is not excluded, one comes to the conclusion that one has before one a homogeneous race. Their characteristic traits are the following: the bodies are tall and slender. They do not, however, appear monumentally thin, but rather give the impression of elegant, flexible mobility. The thin, fine bones are surrounded by well-developed muscles, which, to be sure, stand out clearly, but, in conformity with the slenderness, not obtrusively. One sees especially beautiful forms among young girls. They are graceful, slender figures whose limbs show only just enough roundness in order to make them appear comely. Steatopyma, relatively amplenesses are really found only among older women. The skin color varies between deep dark-brown and light chocolate-brown. The heads are high and narrow, the oval face often has finely chiseled, attractive features and is less prognathous than among Negroes, not infrequently even orthognathous. The high, narrow forehead is well arched, the

recovery from this pain. Mbenyan caused outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zandeh and two old Wadi, Mbenyan, several years before his death, had already predicted the appearance of Europeans that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Wadai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the latter should destroy in childhood one eye of the newborn following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly grey full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the aj silmi nor the aj gabarak and aj kuwa mentioned further below ever pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hair.



The chief's village consists of a large number of houses lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the aj silmi with his numerous wives. Mbenyan had about 100 wives; the still young Sandeh has only 30 of them. No stranger ever may enter these dwelling houses of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the row of the houses, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisors (aj tolgarak simdf aj silmi) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the mandate of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbenyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppe in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference hall, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/Pg cont./

613 (614) kraal, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El Ubaidia are particularly esteemed by all the other kraal on account of their ability to cause rain. The author one day saw such a ceremonies at "work" near a kraal kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come. Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six hours away, it is very probable that hour, too. It had not failed to appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El Ubaidia lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed in the individual sections.

/Pg/ B.

600 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny: the principal wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wives, earnings: family head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. -- Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

• 361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the kraal villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular kraals (sing. ig, pl. ig eldi or sing. ayaw, pl. ayaw [Fig. 7]), which are formed by a ring of huts (sing. eff, pl. effeldi) built close to one another. A kraal contains 10 to 50 huts. At two places opposite each other are found the entrances (sg. ighawa) three to four meters wide. Since the kraal, as nomads, continue to live in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their livestock, the huts are /ill. 5 appear here/ built easily and casually out of material available everywhere.

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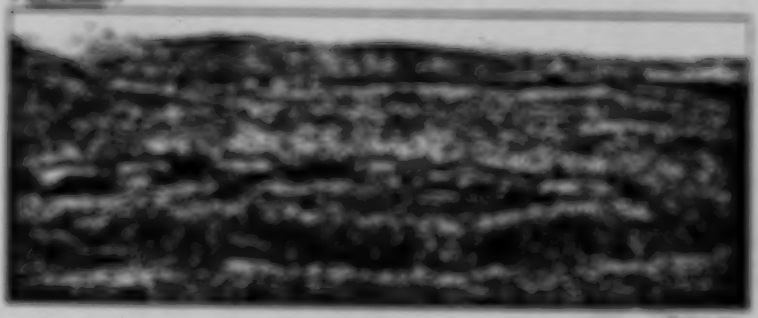
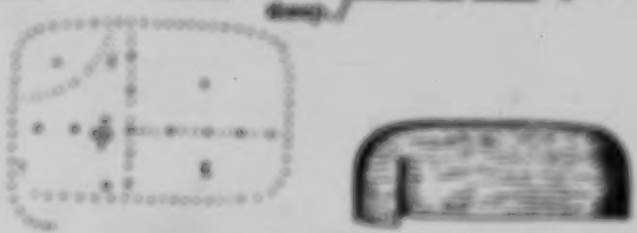
/Fig caption/



Ill. 6. Kraal on the steppe between Kiltonsdorhorn and Hornberg.

[illegible] ner of material available everywhere. Like every task in the kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site for the individual hut (Fig. 5) is cleared of grass and brush and then levelled, the spiral-oval ground plan is underscored in that the women scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is sufficient for the women who, even as a child, helped her mother with this work. Into the ground plan, at four-long intervals, poles (si fani, si fan) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cane-switches (si gomdi, si gomoni). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight supports (ngo bagiele) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar (si nambeze, si nambezani) is put from one end of the hut to the other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed together with papyrus grass (si mdje). By interplaiting finger-thick switches (si lambe, i lambe) walls /[illegible]/ and roof are made tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Beam' skins served principally for roofing before the tinderpest raged among the livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/ when the kraal herds have become vanishing small in contrast to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a layer of dry, long-bladed grass (si gudjele or si gudjeda) 15 to



1. Bed of the cows. 2. Bed of the women. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

30 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with fresh cattle dung (a medicinal medicine). For protection against heavy /ni/ rain, one at times also puts dried and defeated sacrifice on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (at which sits a the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

would pose built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a mat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in behind.

The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a metre, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and monsters, the kraal is surrounded by a most barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn barricade in which the livestock stays during the night: large livestock, calves, and small livestock

Ill. 1. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

[illegible]

[illegible]
are separated from one another by dum barricades, and the huts are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of dummy branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between beads for the married [illegible] and those for the unmarried. In the former [illegible] the married men [illegible] with their families, in the latter the women [illegible] without with their mothers and the half-grown, uncircumcised girls [illegible] a night. One sometimes also finds several beads built together into one. The latter found a village that consisted of five beads built next to one another, three of which were El circular beads. A dense [illegible] surrounded nearly the entire bead complex.

The married men on the average live five to six wives, seldom more have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not circumcised and

Fig. 6. Small pen beside the hut.

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593 consent. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the described one. Determinant and expulsion occur only in very

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Meinhof photo.

Ill. 11. Kraal of the married.

593 592 [illegible]

rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

[illegible]

[Warrior Breed.]

[illegible]

XI.

GGG Warrior breed. — Its inhabitants. — Work. — Feasts of the warriors. — Forest events. — Organizations: the species, his badge and tribal leaders; bowlerman. — Dueling. — Daily life. — Inhabitants. — Dance and song. — War: permission for it, preparation, forest scout, reaching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. — Formation of the war march for the attack. — Battle. — Booty. — Captives. — Distribution of the booty. — Return of the warriors. — Defense procedure. — Attack on warriors. — Concluding peace. — Merit performances. — Retirement from the warrior evening.

69 28 [illegible] In each district one usually finds only one warrior breed, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior breed (of members or overnight) is not externally differentiated from other breeds by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, exceptions almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /his/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

The breed is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and fixes fences. Together with the girls they milk the cattle. Also the breed every day is that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani

701 262 264 takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable

[273] [276] food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

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[415] [237] [276] Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ɔ̃ɔ̃ni).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag. c) Pole for meat. d) Hearth. e) Firewood. f) Entrance.

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 aiele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eŋ adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

/111 cont./

192 832 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says injör naleñ = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ídol íde eñ gawarié = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

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The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 326 [361] [614] [613] The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal [777] (eńg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

/112 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

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The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

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Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

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Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Eńgussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

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While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (eń edońschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/176 cont./

231 192 es suben (es subeni), full-grown female head of small livestock;
ol balélo (el balelón), young male head of small livestock;
em balélo (m balelón), young female head of small livestock;
ol eléruŕ (el eleru), head of small livestock only a few days old;
ol óro (el orol), goat buck;
ol gíne (el gínedji), castrated goat buck;
en gíne (eń ginedji), she-goat;
eń gine eleboń, she-goat that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń gine, she-goat that has not yet dropped young;
olńbalelo l eń gine, male kid;
em balel' en gine, female kid;
ol meregéśch (el meregeschi), ram;
ol gér (el gera), castrated ram;
eń ger (ń gera), sheep;
eń ger eleboń, sheep that has dropped young several times;
es suben eń ger, sheep that has not yet dropped young;
ol balelo l eń ger, male lamb;
em balel' eń ger, female lamb.

233 311 [823] The far greater part of the steppes offers excellent pasture; only smaller or larger isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The Masai know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes them unusable is first of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through [135] which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the ground has leached out the very saliferous earth and, after evaporation, [825] has left behind a more or less strong, gray crust of salt. It is self-evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however, that ticks are not feared at all.

• 361 233 When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds of goats and sheep follows, and after these /177/ the calves. Young

361 /177 cont./
233 animals that go forward only with difficulty are carried in the arms.
[561] Boys take care of the livestock driving, under the supervision of
[701] married men. With each party is found a stronger guard of warriors.
[492] Meanwhile the women are still busy with the loading of the donkeys, on which all the household equipment is packed. More rarely a few oxen or cows must help out. After this work is finished, the herd of donkeys follows the tracks of the livestock. Behind them come the women, girls, and children; almost every one of them also drags along some household object or at least a small-livestock or neat
[701] skin. Oddly enough, a guard of warriors is not found with this party, as there was with all the preceding ones, but rather at most a few old men armed with spears or bows and arrows. Usually the destination is reached on the same day. If this is not the case, however, camp is pitched during the night within a hastily constructed barricade of thorny branches. The next morning the march then continues
361 before daybreak. After arrival at the new site the women immedi-
462 ately start laying out the kraal. First the thorn barricade is laid out, and in the following days the huts are built. Erecting the kraal proceeds very rapidly; as a rule it is finished in a week at the latest. The old kraal was not destroyed upon being vacated. It is left standing and reoccupied later, after the pasture has recovered. Meanwhile, of course, much has deteriorated, so that the work of reconstruction almost equals that of a new installation. In the last
[136] few years, since the sand flea (Pulex penetrans) has become a pest in East Africa, the reoccupation of old kraals is declining more and more. In order to destroy the noxious insects inhabiting them, they are burned when vacated.

000 It is obvious that the European who wants to engage in stock-breeding here cannot move about with his herd in the manner of the Masai. Moreover, a division of the herd in such a way that sufficient grass is present throughout the year within range of the kraal for the individual parts does not seem feasible, and, to be sure, especially because of the difficulty of personal supervision and observation of the sicknesses arising, as well as of isolation in case of an epidemic. An improvement of the pasture by means of

/179 cont./

Infectious Diseases

757 164 For dysentery (eŋg ɛa en gohŏge os sarge) the sick one is given much liquid sheep-fat or melted butter to drink.

Malaria (eŋg odjoŋgáni). At the start of the chill, the patient is given an emetic, for example, a cold, strong extract of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica). Even before the fever breaks out, a decoction of os sogonoi bark is administered, through which, in many cases, the outbreak of the fever is supposed to be prevented or alleviated.

753 825 It is interesting that the Masai -- so they say -- have always regarded the bite of the mosquito as a prerequisite for an attack of malaria. They say that the latter, with its bite, inoculates the person with a poison that causes malaria. For this reason they never [361] lay out their kraals in the vicinity of a swamp or other standing water, and also avoid those places in whose surroundings during the rainy season longer standing puddles form. /180/ In order to drive away the mosquitoes they burn (in the camp or in the hut) the peppermint-scented ol eŋoroŋ (Plectranthus Merkeri, Gürke). If a kraal is badly afflicted with mosquitoes, its inhabitants leave it immediately out of fear of fever (1).

1. So they told me as early as 1895. When, at the beginning of 1896, Zendeo with a number of his people came to Moschi, I received in reply to my question as to whether they had to suffer much with fever the answer: "No, there are no mosquitoes near our kraals."

757 Other emetics are: root powder of ol aisai (Cyathula Lindowina Vlks.), which is taken stirred in water; a decoction of roots and stalks of ol gurschaschi (Barleria mucronata Lindau); a root decoction of ol moran (Solanum nigrum); the boiling down of a handful of bark or root of ol duŋgui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.); a cold extract of five finger-size pieces of the bark of oiti (Acacia mellifera Bth.)

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XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /212/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit; -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

671 [184] [361] An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes tutelage through laws and often prefers to let might come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsistency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

[593] [619] [186] 593

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121 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness
177 of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence
721 as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings,
178 to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection
[648] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally arise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal for them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions
[361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into regions that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior
177 pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the
182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have carried from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for
182 its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that
731 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, not locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily sever famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

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182 731 [548] had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are 182 731 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone [726] [186] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

178 241 [433] [361] Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation, agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/350 cont./
its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentation brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[422] (Fosbrooke, 1948).
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561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the boma each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left,

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Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees (Fig. 22). Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were not located at permanent water. It may be that increases in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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Figure 22.

Abandoned boma site in Acacia woodland north of the Serengeti Plain. This was a small boma, abandoned for two years. The remains of the boma are behind the Land-Rover. Note the numerous stumps of Acacias cut for construction of the boma and for firewood; the sprouting from the stump in the foreground; and the ground cover of weeds and coarse grass. The palatable bunch grasses were killed out by overgrazing before the Masai left.

342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
343 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent
233 and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

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[361] Large bomas appeared to be relatively permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was usually built nearby, often only a few yards away. Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for about five to eight years, although some doubtless last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation
[233] of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock are driven during the night the dung accumulates into a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center.
[364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets